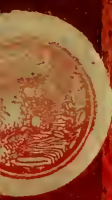


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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



Sketch of the Life and Public Services
OF
WINFIELD S. HANCOCK,

BY
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II
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JOHN POLHEMUS, Publisher,
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WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK,

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

OR

THE UNITED STATES.

ELECTION, NOVEMBER, 1880.

The very name of the subject of this sketch is suggestive of patriotic spirit and heroism. General Hancock is descended directly from the patriots of the Revolutionary period. Although not of the same family, and his ancestors may not have been nearly related to those of John Hancock, who headed the signers of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the descendants of both families have inherited similar mental and moral qualities.

ANCESTRY—HEREDITARY QUALITIES.

Major-General Winfield Scott Hancock was born at Montgomery Square, Montgomery township and county, Pa., Feb. 14, 1824. He has just passed his 56th year, and is in the full vigor of his physical and mental powers. His ancestral line on his mother's side leads back to the English and Welsh; on his father's side to the English, Irish and Scotch.

His father's family were originally Episcopalians and Friends. His mother's family were always Baptists, as far back as any memorial remains. From the days of William Penn they have lived in Pennsylvania, and for the last one hundred and fifty years in what is now Montgomery county.

The General descended direct from the Hancocks who came to this country in the early period of its settlement. In the Revolution his ancestors on both sides were engaged on sea or land in the struggle for liberty. His grandfather on his

his father's side was captured at sea, claimed as a British subject, and imprisoned in one of the military prisons of England.

His mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Hawksworth. Her grandfather served in the Continental armies, and died soon after the close of the Revolution from exposure in the rigors of the service. Her father went into the Revolutionary ranks when only a lad of fifteen, and returned to the battle field five times as a member of different regiments. At Taneytown, Md., his command was called upon to escort Burgoyne's prisoners, captured at Saratoga, to Valley Forge. For his services in the Revolution he received a pension during life.

An incident is related of his mother's family, showing the bravery of its female members when exposed to the dangers of savage warfare.

During the French and Indian wars before the Revolution, in the absence of the men on military service, the Indians attacked their house and drove them to the attic. They defended themselves with great heroism, chopping off the fingers of the savages with hatchets, as they attempted to climb up to kill or capture them.

GENERAL HANCOCK'S FATHER—HIS INFLUENCE OVER HIS SON.

General Hancock's father, Benjamin F. Hancock, was born in Philadelphia, and at the early age of fifteen, accompanied our military forces to the banks of the Delaware river in the war of 1812-15. Being a youth of studious habits, and strong aspirations for solid attainments, he received a fair common school and classical education, and studied law. He was of that class of young men who continually advance, and in his maturity became a lawyer of eminence, and a citizen of sterling character and wide influence. He removed to Norristown, the county seat of Montgomery, when his son, Winfield Scott, was four years old. At Swede's Ford, on the site of Norristown, Washington crossed the Schuylkill river in his campaign of Valley Forge. In sight of these historic hills Hancock passed his early years.

His father was a man of strong intellect and of very broad, patriotic views. For more than a third of a century he was deferred to and revered by the community in which he lived. Being an able counsellor, his legal opinions were sought by the profession both at Norristown and in Philadelphia. His wife, the mother of General Hancock, was a woman of strong character and greatly respected among the people of Norristown and in the church. She was long a devout member of the Baptist Church. His father became a constant attendant with her, and was liberal in the support of the service. He is remembered for many years as the able Moderator of the May anniversary meetings of this denomination in Philadelphia.

It is related of him that at the age of thirty, having become a constant smoker, and accustomed to take a social glass with his legal friends, as was the custom of that day, he resolved, in view of the effect upon his physical powers, his character and maturer manhood, to cease the use of both forever. Having a liberal supply of cigars, he placed the bundles upon the mantel shelf of his office, and bade his friends as they came to take the last he could offer. From that date forward to the end of his long life he never smoked, or drank intoxicating liquor.

TESTIMONY OF AN OLD FRIEND OF HIS FATHER.

An intelligent gentleman, advanced in years, an old friend of General Hancock's family, who knew his father and mother from boyhood, makes the following interesting statement concerning them. He says :

"The father of General Hancock connected himself with the Baptist church at Norristown early in its existence, and being a gentleman of prominence, he at once took a leading position. He became very much interested in the welfare of the young, and was made superintendent of the Sabbath school, and so continued for many years. When the church at Norristown grew strong he connected himself with a little church across the Schuylkill river in Bridgeport, and for many years aided this church by his money and efforts to maintain its existence, and was connected with it when he died.

"From the origin of the school system of Pennsylvania he was connected with its direction until a few years before his death. The efficiency of the public schools of Norristown owe much to his ability and persevering efforts.

"He was one of the originators of the water works of Norristown, and was President of its board until his death. He was a very prominent man in the community, and especially in all good works. His counsel was sought and never withheld. As a lawyer he was prudent, safe and careful ; he was more of a counsellor than an advocate ; more anxious to promote the interests of his clients than to secure his fees.

"His mother was an earnest, strong woman in intellect and in character, and as I remember her when comparatively young, very beautiful ; indeed she carried strong evidences of this beauty till near her death, little more than a year ago."

In regard to General Hancock, he says :

"Though many who were once foremost to sound his praise, now, through the claims of an opposite partisanship, bitterly denounce him as leagued with those who sought to overthrow the government ; yet, I feel that the angel of their better natures will yet lead them to see and feel the injustice of their efforts to defeat him in this election. I think he has the masses of the people with him."

This full account of General Hancock's parentage is really a part of his own life, for he inherited in full measure those strong and elevated traits of character which were conspicuous in their lives. In his tender years of childhood and boyhood his character was molded by them and the foundation laid for a rich growth in moral truth and all that is pure and noble in manhood. In this growing period they trained him better than they knew. The seed then sown was, under Divine favor, to yield a golden harvest in the great deeds of his manhood, to be recorded in the future history of the country they loved.

GENERAL HANCOCK'S EARLY HOME—ANECDOTES OF HIS BOYHOOD.

We quote a brief passage, written fifteen years ago, just after the close of the war, about Hancock's home in his boyhood :

"His parents were very devout ; the altar of worship stood like a sanctuary within their doors, and every day their children and family bowed with them before it ; morning and evening the incense of devotion ascended from

that house. Nor did this hallowed home influence stop at the threshold. Impressed on the memory and heart, it went out into the duties of life. * * * It was in the domain of such a home as this Winfield received his earliest impressions of character. The uniform record of him in his boyhood, is, that he was obedient to his parents, truthful and courteous, cheerful, social and manly.

"A gentleman sitting one day in his father's office they heard a tumult among the boys in the street.

" 'Come here, my son,' said the father, calling him from the crowd. The boy instantly obeyed, his flushed face turned full on his father.

" 'What is the matter, Winfield?'

" 'Why, that big boy out there tried to whip me, and I wasn't going to let him.'

" 'But he is a great deal larger than you are, my son.'

" 'I know he is, father; but he shan't whip me for all that.' " A juvenile pluck which grew into his manhood, and won the day in many hard fought battles.

The attachment between Winfield and his schoolmates always reflected credit upon his youthful tendencies. When Winfield was eleven years old, there came to reside with a relative at Norristown, a poor little boy aged nine, whose father had died. He became one of Winfield's playmates and by degrees they became attached. Winfield had ten pennies to his one, and when they met before or after school, Winfield would say: "Johnny, I have some pennies; let us get something." He was the youngest and smallest among their company. The boys would sometimes tantalize and threaten him and Winfield would always come to the rescue.

"Look here!" he would say, "you are older and larger than Johnny, and ought to be ashamed to take advantage of his age and size." What business is it to you Winfield Hancock? "I will make it my business. Stand your ground Johnny. They shan't hurt you. Find one of my size and let little Johnny alone!" His magnanimous courage always carried the day.

In the course of time Johnny came as a young man to Philadelphia, and by industry and enterprise became wealthy, and was chosen a member of its City Councils.

Winfield became a Major-General, and when the city government passed a series of resolutions commending the courage, great services and patriotism of Major-General Winfield Scott Hancock, it became the duty of little Johnny, John W. Everman, Esq., President of the City Council of Philadelphia, to meet him as bearer of these resolutions at Washington Capitol. With what cordiality the two playmates met, the reader may judge, for when the formal tender was made, General Hancock said:

"We meet here, Mr. Everman, in our official capacities; but I desire to see more of you. I must leave soon for my post in the army. Come and visit me there and be sure and make my headquarters your home during your stay."

And he did meet him, when he was recruiting the army after he was wounded, both at Harrisburg and in Philadelphia, and when the freedom of the city was given to General Hancock, Mr. Everman opened to him that sacred room—in honor seldom conferred) in which the Declaration of Independence was signed.

Magnanimous and true in friendship in boyhood and alike so in the maturity of manhood.

He was always regarded a leader among the boys at Norristown. By common consent he was selected as Captain of their Home Guard of Juvenile Soldiers. His mother and the matrons of the place equipped them, and cheered them on their marches—the germ of a grander leadership in saving the Union.

HIS EDUCATION—IN ITS METHOD LIKE THAT OF HAMILTON.

Hancock's early education up to his sixteenth year, was at the Norristown Academy. When only fifteen, on account of his name, and of his ability as a student, he was selected to read the Declaration of Independence at the national anniversary. It was read with an expression of its meaning and a spirit which surprised the audience.

His father was at this time, warmly engaged in the cause of education and supervised all Winfield's studies and reading.

Though educated under dissimilar circumstances, we find a significant parallel in the early training, aims, and methods of Alex. Hamilton.

Hamilton at the early age of 13, entered the counting house of Nicolas Cruger. He was studious and exact, and soon showed special maturity of thought and judgment. His knowledge of practical affairs was even then remarkable. He was untiring in his industry, did but one thing at a time, and that with all his might, and did it thoroughly. This principle entered into all his studies and literary pursuits. At this time he wrote to a young friend :

"My youth now excludes hope of preferment, but I mean to prepare for futurity."

And when the time came, as come it did, he was prepared to make rapid strides to the post of honor and fame, and to write his name upon the enduring record of history.

HE ENTERS WEST POINT.

Hancock's father had designed his son for the legal profession, but unforeseen and Providential circumstances changed this purpose. By a thorough method of preparation not unlike that pursued by Hamilton, he was prepared and entered the Military Academy at West Point at the age of 16 with credit.

His father had inculcated these habits with great persistence, and had wisely directed the order of his course of study. When he left the paternal roof for the Military Academy his father gave him a copy of Blackstone's commentaries, and enjoined him to read it carefully before his class entered upon the study of Kent and Story on the Constitution, which formed part of the course. With this request he scrupulously complied.

Thus with his future destiny unforeseen, as it was with Hamilton, he was early made familiar with the principles of constitutional and common law.

At West Point he maintained his studious habits. Here he was the associate of young men, who like himself, were destined to be prominent in the history of the country. Among his fellow cadets were U. S. Grant, George B.

McClellan, John F. Reynolds (who fell at Gettysburg), John S. Reno (who fell at South Mountain), Burnside, Franklin, W. F. Smith, all afterward distinguished Union generals. Among those who became noted in the cause of the south were Longstreet, "Stonewall" Jackson, A. P. Hill, D. H. Hill and others. Hancock took higher than average rank as a scholar and graduated number 18 in a large class, June 30, 1844. He received the commission of Brevet Second Lieutenant of the Sixth Infantry, and served two years with his regiment in the Indian Territory.

SERVICES IN MEXICO, FLORIDA, KANSAS, NEBRASKA, UTAH AND CALIFORNIA.

In the Mexican war, 1847, he found the first opportunity for distinction. This he first won at the National Bridge. He was afterward distinguished for gallantry at San Antonio, Contreras, Cherubusco, Molino del Rey and at the assault and capture of the city of Mexico.

His first promotion was Aug. 20, 1847, "for gallant and meritorious conduct," the official report of which was complimentary in the highest degree.

From 1848 to 1849 he served as regimental quartermaster stationed at Jefferson Barracks: from thence to 1855 as adjutant, having received the full rank of first lieutenant in 1853.

He served in the responsible posts of quartermaster and adjutant more than six years. The duties of these offices brought into full exercise his system and dispatch in business.

From June to November, 1853, he acted as assistant adjutant general of the Department of the West, headquarters at St. Louis.

In the Fall of 1855, he was promoted to the rank of captain and assistant quartermaster, and during 1856 and '57 he served on the staff of General Harney in the Florida war, and during the Fall of 1857 and in 1858 with Harney in the political troubles of Kansas and Nebraska. From there he went with Gen. Harney to Utah and California. He rode overland across the continent to the Pacific coast, on horseback, accompanying a regiment of infantry and conducting in safety 1,000 mules and a large quantity of stores to meet the demands of the Indian war in Oregon. He was in California in 1858, '59, '60 and '61, and in Southern California when the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached him.

The following words of a military officer very truthfully state Hancock's position at that moment: "When the news of the momentous struggle which the firing on Fort Sumter announced to the world to have begun, reached the Pacific slope, the intrinsic character of the man at once displayed itself. Southern California was almost as little disposed to be loyal as any southern state. Secession opinion was everywhere rampant, and there was imminent danger that civil war would be inaugurated west as well as east of the Rocky Mountains. Hancock declared himself without hesitation."

He at once requested the Governor of Pennsylvania to assign him to a command of volunteers in the pending war. Awaiting the reply in California, his influence was of signal service in saving the state. His first speech was a patriotic appeal in behalf of the Union, at a meeting at Los Angeles, July 4th, 1861. He said, in closing:

“Who of us can forget the names of Lexington, of Monmouth, of Brandywine and Yorktown, and who can regret that he is a descendant of those who fought there for the liberties we now enjoy? And what flag is it that we now look to as the banner that carried us through the great contest, and was honored by the gallant deeds of its defenders? The star-spangled banner of America, then embracing thirteen pale stars, representing that number of oppressed colonies, now thirty-four bright planets, representing that number of great states. * * * Let them return to us (those who would secede). We will welcome them as brothers who have been estranged, but have come back. We have an interest in the battlefields of the Revolution in those states, not second to their own. Our forefathers fought there side by side with theirs. Can they, if they would, thrust aside their rights to the memories of the great fields on our soil on which their ancestors won renown? No, they cannot! God forbid that they should desire it. To those who, regardless of those sacred memories, insist on sundering this union of states, let us, who only wish our birthright preserved, and whose desire it is to be still citizens of the great country that gave us birth, and to live under that flag which has gained for us the glory we boast of, say this day to those among us who feel aggrieved, your rights we will respect, your wrongs we will assist you to redress, *but the government resulting from the union of these states is a priceless heritage, that we intend to preserve and defend to the last extremity.*”

He could not brook delay, and at his request General Scott ordered him East for active duty. On reporting at Washington, he was assigned as chief quartermaster on the staff of General Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter. Before entering on these duties, President Lincoln appointed him a Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

ENTERS THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

On the 23d of September, 1861, he was assigned to the division of the Army of the Potomac, commanded by General W. F. Smith. And now was to open before him a career of distinction of which he had never thought. Here began that series of brilliant deeds which have endeared him to the American people, and written his name upon the enduring record of history.

In a brief sketch, giving only the outline of his life, it is not possible to describe at length the military movements by which he won his successive victories. It will suffice to give the time, place, and general outline only of his great battles, which broke the power of the enemy, and turned the tide of war in favor of the Union. He entered upon active service in the fall of 1861, with a brigade of four splendid regiments—one from New York, one from Pennsylvania, one from Maine, and one from Wisconsin. Under the tuition and drill of Hancock, they soon acquired the steadiness of the best troops. It was the kind of material with which to found his fame; but of this he thought little. His great object was to make them effective.

SIEGE OF YORKTOWN—BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

This was his first general engagement. The Army of the Potomac had been transported to Fortress Monroe in the latter part of March, 1862. The campaign of the

Peninsula began at Yorktown, and ended with the seven days' terrible conflict before Richmond.

Hancock's brigade was actively engaged and conspicuous during the entire siege of Yorktown, for thirty days up to the 4th of May. When the line of the Confederates at Yorktown, which extended nearly thirteen miles across the Peninsula was evacuated, the Union army rushed on in pursuit. It was stopped twelve miles below Yorktown, at a point where the Peninsula contracts to a kind of narrow isthmus before Fort Magruder, in front of Williamsburg, a strong work, with twelve redoubts on its right and left for field guns.

General Sumner was in command. Our army bivouacked in the woods during the stormy night, and in the early morn went into position; Hooker on the left, Smith on the right. Hooker advanced his batteries, opening fire upon the fort, and by nine o'clock had silenced it. The enemy made a series of determined attacks during the day, with the purpose of turning Hooker's left. The main body of our army had not come up. It was a bloody conflict, in which Hooker lost upwards of two thousand men. Near noon Sumner ordered Hancock to reconnoitre upon our right. With two batteries and a brigade of five regiments he made a circuit of at least four miles near to the York river, coming out in the rear of the enemy's left flank and line of defense, upon the ravine of Cub Creek Dam. Across this ravine, in the distance, was an unoccupied redoubt. It was more than a half mile away upon a crest of land, and commanded the plain between it and Fort Magruder. This crest had an easy slope on both sides. Crossing on the breast of the dam with his troops and batteries, he quickly occupied this redoubt. He saw two redoubts beyond, and putting his batteries into position, drove the small force which was in them from their cover. With adequate support, the whole rebel army was at his mercy. As the day wore on, and at five o'clock no support came, he retired his small force to the slope south of the crest. Besides what held the redoubt, he had in line less than two thousand men. The lynx-eyed rebel commander knew his own danger, and at that moment two regiments of Early's troops issued from the woods with the purpose of crushing and routing Hancock's force. They came on impetuously, yelling Bull Run! Bull Run! That flag is ours! It was a supreme moment for swift, unerring judgment and action. Hancock dashed along the line with the order to fix bayonets, and the instant the rebel center neared him, the order to charge was executed with a precision, an inspiration and impetuosity that nothing could withstand. Many were bayoneted. The rebel center broke, and the whole line retreated, with a rebel loss in this brief action of five hundred, and a loss for the Union force of one hundred and twenty-nine. Williamsburg was won. Hancock held the key of the position, and that night, ere the dawn, the rebel defenses were evacuated, and their troops rapidly marching towards the Chickahominy.

This was the first of a series of very brave, effective and sagacious deeds which distinguished Hancock throughout the war, and made him in every exigency and at all times one of its most beloved and trusted generals.

THE SEVEN DAYS BEFORE RICHMOND, ANTIETAM, FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE.

Hancock's success was due first and always to his thorough knowledge of military science and masterly skill in military movements. As chief commander he would have been great in strategy as he was in tactics—when, where and with what forces to attack or to meet the onset of the enemy; in tactics, in the general disposition of forces upon the field of battle, and the clear, quick insight, in its progress, of the most effective action to foil, surprise or destroy him, he was great and effective.

His knowledge of human nature, and his belief in the power of example to win the confidence of his men added greatly to his strength. He was willing always to share the peril of his troops. As a brigade commander he was always among his men, riding up and down near the line of battle. As he rose in rank and commanded larger bodies he continued the practice. This great confidence of his men—for kindred peril in a noble cause begets kindred love—enabled him always to hold the most perilous position with tenacity, and when the supreme moment came to strike by assault, or charge, his troops would go with him or for him, into the very gateway of death, with a resistless momentum that swept everything before it.

Hence, from the battle of Williamsburg, through all the Peninsular Campaign—at Golding's Farm, at Garnett's Hill, at Savage Station and at White Oak Swamp, he became famous for his tenacity and skillful tactics. He shared in nearly every engagement. At White Oak Swamp, under a deadly fire of rebel artillery, after three days fighting by day and marching by night, worn with fatigue and want of sleep, his brigade successfully assisted in repelling the sharp attacks of the rebel infantry through the day, and covered the immense wagon trains of our retreating army—a striking proof of its discipline and bravery.

From there he was transferred northward and took part in August and September in the campaign in support of Pope.

On the 17th of September he shared conspicuously in the battle and victory of Antietam. And when the gallant Richardson, commander of first division Second Army Corps, fell, Hancock was placed in command on the field. From this dated his connection with the Second Corps he afterward commanded with such renown.

For his distinguished services in the Peninsular campaign and at Antietam he was promoted, Nov. 29, 1862, as Major-General of Volunteers.

At Fredericksburg, 13th of December, as commander 1st division, 2d corps, he took part in the desperate and bloody assault on Maryes Heights. Leading his men into the very "slaughter pen" so termed, he received only a slight flesh wound, and seemed here, as in many other battles, to bear a charmed life.

At Chancellorsville, May, 1863, he performed signal service, holding his division by his presence at every turn in that disastrous battle. Here his horse was shot under him, and he seemed again to bear a charmed life.

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, THE CULMINATING EVENT OF THE WAR—RESPONSIBLE
ACTION OF HANCOCK, TURNING THE TIDE OF BATTLE.

On the 25th of May President Lincoln confirmed Hancock as permanent commander of the Second Corps.

The rebel General Lee had determined to invade the North, but, so far as possible, kept his movements a profound secret. Where he would strike, or by what sharp strategy he would invest Washington, move on Baltimore, or the cities of Pennsylvania, no one knew.

Early in June, 1863, Maj. Gen. D. N. Couch retired from command of the Second Army Corps, and Gen. Hancock succeeded him. On the 28th Gen. Hooker was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac by Gen. Meade, and at that time the larger part of it was massed around Meade's headquarters at Frederick City, Md. Hancock was on his way from Fredericksburg, Va. (200 miles), with his corps, marching twenty to thirty miles a day in a broiling summer sun, each soldier with a weight of fifty-seven pounds on his back, rivalling his fellow, to reach the scene of action—a grand march, so perfect Hancock's discipline, not an act of vandalism was committed.

By the 29th, Lee, preceeding our army, had marched up the Cumberland Valley, occupied York and Carlisle, Pa., a part of his force was at Chambersburg, and a part on its way to cross the Susquehanna river at Harrisburg. The Union army must intercept, hurl back and overwhelm him, or the Union cause was lost.

Lee learning our army was in hot pursuit, and fearing for his line of retreat, diverged through South Mountain Range towards Gettysburg, only twenty miles distant. Where, and the moment the shock of battle would come Meade did not know, but on the 29th advanced his army in three columns towards Gettysburg, covering the approaches to Baltimore and Washington. It was not till the eve of the 30th that Meade became satisfied that Lee had changed his course, and was concentrating his forces to meet the Union army. Meade had determined to mass his army along the elevations of Pipe Creek, and there give battle; his headquarters at Taneytown, his First, Third and Eleventh corps were thrown forward toward Gettysburg, Reynolds in command. Hancock reached Gen. Meade's headquarters at noon, July 1st, and his corps was massing for a brief rest, when a first and second mounted messenger came with tidings that the First and Eleventh Corps were fighting, with odds against them, and the gallant Reynolds in command had fallen.

In twenty minutes Hancock with his staff was rushing forward, Hancock in an ambulance to examine as he rode, the map of Gettysburg and surroundings, and with the order to take command of all the Union forces at Gettysburg.

It should be here stated that Lee, the rebel General, did not intend to attack or to take the offensive, but so skillfully to concentrate his 70,000 men and 150 pieces of artillery in order of battle, that when the Union army should attack, he could overwhelm and route it.

FIRST DAY AT GETTYSBURG. —

Of this most terrible three days' battle in the annals of warfare, both space and want of military knowledge here forbid description, except so far as is needed to

refer to the masterly mind, the heroic acts, and sublime courage shown by Hancock throughout the scene of carnage. After Reynolds fell, Gen. Howard, by virtue of his rank, commanded at Gettysburg on the first day of battle till Hancock arrived. He had extended his line of battle in a wide curve far north and west of the village. The rebel General Rhodes, in throwing forward his division to connect with the left of Hill's troops, secured a commanding position upon Oak Hill—the key-point of the entire field—a point below which the right of our First Corps and the left of our Eleventh Corps did not closely connect. At three o'clock in the afternoon, there was a general advance of the rebel forces upon our line, when the rebel General Rhodes broke the Union center at this point, by a furious attack, disrupted our whole line, throwing our troops back in disorder into Gettysburg.

As this confused and disordered mass was pouring through Gettysburg, Hancock arrived. Of this critical moment of the disrupted condition of our forces and of Hancock's opportune arrival, WILLIAM SWINTON, probably the ablest, most accurate and impartial of the many writers upon the war, says :

"In such an emergency, it is the personal qualities of the commander alone that tell. If, happily, there is in him that mysterious but potent magnetism that calms, subdues and inspires, there results one of those sudden moral transformations that are among the marvels of the phenomena of battle. This quality Hancock possesses in a high degree, and his appearance soon restored order, out of seeming hopeless confusion, which Howard, though an efficient officer, had not been able to quell."

General Meade gave Hancock full power to examine and decide at once the most favorable positions for the order of battle. Upon Hancock's representation, that Gettysburg was in respect to the natural features of the hills and ridges the most advantageous for a defensive battle, he at once ordered all our still outlying forces within a few hours' march, to be concentrated on Gettysburg, and with his own headquarters reached it at one o'clock on the morning of the 2d.

Hancock that night and morning of the 2d selected the ground and placed our forces in order of battle, with the celerity which the supreme moment inspired, from Cemetery Ridge to Round Top, a distance of three and one-half to four miles. The opposing armies had been precipitated into conflict on the 1st sooner than the chief commanders expected by the rapid concentration of both armies toward the same point, and upon their arrival on the morning of the 2d both were committed to a battle.

Hancock displayed extraordinary skill in selecting the ground and placing our forces in the most advantageous position to give battle on the defensive or to compel the rebel general to attack. Lee had promised his corps commanders that he would not—from the greater peril doubtless in giving battle so far from his base—assume the offensive, but would force the Union army to attack.

Hancock so clearly comprehended the situation, that, while with the modesty of true greatness, he assumed no action beyond the order of his chief in command, yet counselled with him *and under him*, shared the gravest responsibility in so arranging the order of this great battle that General Lee was compelled to take the greater peril of the offensive, or the peril of retreat.

SECOND DAY OF GETTYSBURG.

On the morning of the 2d the two great opposing armies were arranged upon the scene of action. Lee, finding the Union army in order for defense, proceeded to place his forces in the order of attack, but it was near 4 o'clock in the afternoon ere this was completed. After some reconnoissance, his sagacious eye seized upon the left center of our line, held by Sickles' corps, as the point of attack. This general had, on his own responsibility, says Swinton, changed and advanced his position in the original ordained line of battle; though with laudable intent, it exposed a salient or angle of his line at the peach orchard, which gave the enemy the key-point to his whole line. On this Lee made a ferocious attack by Hood's and Anderson's divisions and carried his entire left. It fell upon that part of Sickles' line which stretched from the peach orchard toward Round Top. When Sickles was wounded, Hancock took command of both the Third and Second Corps.

Then came the terrific struggle for the possession of the original line of battle, in which Hancock, with wonderful skill and quick comprehension of the situation, displayed all his gigantic strength in saving the day.

When Sickles' line was cut in twain, and his left and the forces that moved to his support were thrown back, the hostile forces of Lee poured through the interval to strike Humphrey's division, which joined. So furiously and hotly did the enemy attack that the gallant Humphrey was compelled to fall back, though slowly and obstinately, yet at the cost, says Swinton, of the terrible sacrifice of half his division—the remnants of many regiments making hardly more than an ordinary battalion. Hancock was everywhere present; for many charges of the rebel forces there followed a fierce counter-charge by Hancock, and the enemy at length gave way.

While this terrific scene was enacted, Lee was also attacking Cemetery Ridge and Culp's Hill, to prevent Union reinforcements against his chief assault. The rebel General Hood, having outflanked Sickles' left, pushed boldly for the rocky summit of Round Top—the key of the battle ground. But fortunately—all honor to General Warren, engineer-in-chief—four regiments, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York and Maine, with the utmost boldness and resolution came to the rescue. "Here," says Swinton, "there ensued one of those mortal struggles rare in war, when the hostile forces, clenching in close contest, illustrate whatever there is of savage and terrible in battle."

Lee had carried the whole front of the Third Corps, although it was regained during the day, and had thrust himself within the breastworks on the right. If he could hold the position, it would enable him to take the Union army's entire line in reverse, while our loss had already reached the frightful aggregate of 20,000 men.

But Sickles' line was not an essential part of our main line, for that on the crest of the hills was still intact.

THIRD DAY.

During the night we had accumulated a powerful artillery against the point of our breastworks on Culp's Hill, entered by the enemy on the second day. When at 4 o'clock in the morning we opened a heavy artillery fire, a large force of infantry

also entered upon the struggle to regain our position. After four hours contest and a final spirited charge of an entire division, the original line was reestablished on Culp's Hill.

Gen. Lee now changed his tactics and resolved to assault our center. At the close of this morning struggle, there was ominous silence for several hours. But this betokened a terrible shock to come. Lee's hope was to sweep resistance from the slopes of the hills before his assaulting columns moved forward, and by noon he had one hundred and twenty guns in position. Gen. Hunt, our chief of artillery had crowned the ridge we occupied with eighty guns. "At one o'clock," says Swinton, "the ominous silence was broken by a terrific outburst from this massive enginery of war." Holding fire briefly our batteries opened, "and thus from ridge to ridge was kept up for nearly two hours a Titanic combat of artillery, that caused the solid fabric of the hills to labor and shake with the mad clamor of two hundred guns.

"Our troops crouched behind such slight cover as they could find, but the musket was tightly grasped, for each man well knew that this storm of canister and shell was but the prelude to a yet more deadly shock of infantry." When this artillery slackened, the Confederate infantry were seen forming on the edge of the woods—a part in double line of battle, and a part in column by battalions.

This attacking force numbered over fifteen thousand men, and it advanced over the intervening plain of near a mile, "in such compact and imposing order that none who saw it could refrain," says this writer, "from admiration of its magnificent array." "In crossing that plain it received a severe fire from our artillery, but this did not delay for a moment its determined advance." The Union force held itself braced to receive the impact. It came on within musket range, when our forces opened a most destructive fire, and repeated it in rapid succession. This first shock revealed the unequal metal of the assaulting mass, and shortly, when came the *feu d'Enfer*, or the decisive volleys, there ran through the rebel ranks the cry "The Army of the Potomac!"

Such was the momentum of the assault, that the force fairly thrust itself within Hancock's lines. A large number of this force were taken prisoners, and many stands of colors fell into our hands.

But when the swift advancing, yelling forces of Pickett rushed upon and over our stone wall breastwork and crowned it with their standards, "Hancock," writes Swinton, "who the day before had turned the fortune of the battle, in a similar emergency, again displayed those qualities of cool appreciation and quick action, which had proved him one of the foremost commanders on the field of battle." He quickly drew and formed a bulwark of troops from all the regiments on the scene of this assault against the further advance of the exultant enemy, and men and commanders of all these brigades moved so rapidly with an honorable ambition to cover the point penetrated, that in regular formations the line would have stood four ranks deep."

Whatever valor could do, says the same writer, to wrest victory from the jaws of defeat, must be conceded to the troops of Pickett, but seeing themselves in a desperate strait, they threw themselves on the ground to escape our hot fire, and threw up their hands in token of surrender, or sought safety in flight.

The aggregate of Hancock's captures in this action was 4,500 prisoners, and 27 stands of colors. Two of the rebel brigade commanders fell, fourteen field officers were left on the battle ground, and of the rank and file three-fourths were dead or captured. At the close of the battle Hancock received a ball in his body and lay on the field severely wounded.

Lee's only alternative now was retreat. Thus ended these three days terrible conflict, with a lost to the Union army in killed, wounded and missing of over 23,000, and of the Confederate army upwards of 30,000 men.

This account could not well be abbreviated to show with what intellectual strength, and masterly skill in the science of war, with what true patriotism, with what valor and conspicuous modesty under the chief commander, Hancock, with the favor of Divine Providence, was, in this great contest a signal instrument in saving the Union cause.

WOUNDED AND IN HIS FATHER'S HOME IN MORRISTOWN.

He was sent from the battle field to his home on a stretcher. The citizens flocked around him, while he was met by a detachment of the Invalid Guards who tenderly bore him through the streets. The inhabitants were deeply moved at the sight, seeing his prostrate form and not knowing the extent of his wounds. The doors and windows were crowded, and tears of sympathy fell as he was silently taken to his father's house. Here he was tenderly nursed, the ball was extracted, and the wound, though extremely painful, gradually began to heal. As he gained strength his fellow citizens bore him many testimonials of personal friendship. They took immediate steps to testify their appreciation of his signal services to the country. A service of gold and silver plate of nine pieces was presented, with the inscription, "From the citizens of his birthplace," and on each piece was engraved the Trefoil, or three-leaved clover, the badge of his Second Army Corps. This was a costly and beautiful testimonial of their warm regard.

WITH HIS FAMILY IN MISSOURI.

As soon as possible he reached his wife and children at Longwood, near St. Louis, Mo., and under date of Oct. 12th, wrote his father as follows:

I threw aside my crutches a few days after my arrival and now walk with a cane. I am improving, but do not yet walk without a little "roll." My wound is still unhealed, although the doctors say it is closing rapidly. I find some uneasiness in sitting long on a chair, and cannot yet ride. The bone appears to be injured and may give me trouble for a long time. I hope, however, I may be well enough in two weeks to join my corps.

I am busy in trimming up the forest trees in the lawn of Longwood, which covers nearly eleven acres. I know it is not the best time; but still it will do.

Alice and the children send their best love to you and mother. Please give my best love to mother, and I remain, as ever,

Your affectionate son,
WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

This letter shows the true man as he is, affectionate, tender and reverent to all that is sacred and beautiful in domestic life. This phase of his character was always predominant in his tender care and feeling for the wounded in hospitals or on the field, while on the battle field he was consummate in valor, swift in action, and great in his clear comprehension of all the perilous duties of the hour, however grave or momentous.

RECRUITING CORPS OF 30,000 AND 50,000 MEN, AND WITH GRANT IN THE CAMPAIGN

TO RICHMOND—MEADE AND GRANT'S TESTIMONY.

In December, 1863, he reported at Washington for duty, and was commissioned to recruit the 2d Army Corps to 30,000 men. His appeals to the people in this duty, were marked by great personal modesty, but with ardent patriotism, setting forth the urgent necessity of an immense force, to close the war at once, and save the continued sacrifice of precious lives. He was met with ovations of the gratitude and esteem of the people wherever he went—in Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany and Boston. His mission was crowned with success.

In March, 1864, he reported for active duty, and resumed command of the 2d Army Corps. This was just before the Army of the Potomac set out on its memorable campaign under the immediate orders of Gen. Grant, on the 3d of May.

Notwithstanding the effects of his wound still remained, and at one period of this campaign, compelled him to lay suffering ten days in his tent, when a piece of bone was extracted, he distinguished himself by prodigies of valor, and great and effective deeds to the end. His great actions during this campaign were most marked at the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Petersburg (during the battle and siege in front of that city), Deep Bottom, Reams Station and Boynton Road.

His promptness and celerity is a feature of his army career that cannot fail to arrest attention, and this is a marked feature of his character in all the business of life. An army officer said of him: "If he was ordered to move at thirty minutes past four in the morning, at thirty-one minutes he was in motion. His attacks when ordered or resolved upon were alike prompt. In a short period from the time he moved he has often fought and won the field. His men and officers were so accustomed to his rapid movements, that long lines of battle responded to his call very promptly and rapidly. His lines were always well in hand, and his commanders responded with the same promptness. This was one of the secrets of his power as a great general."

General Meade said of him, "No Commanding General ever had a better lieutenant than Hancock; he was always faithful and reliable." And General Grant said, "I always knew where to find Hancock."

In this as in other campaigns, he was always at the front. At Spotsylvania, May 12th, he assaulted the enemy at daylight in his entrenched lines, with 2d corps, 20,000 men, carried them by storm, captured thirty pieces of artillery and an entire division of four thousand five hundred men, after one of the bloodiest and severest battles of the war, continuing twenty hours without cessation; one of the most brilliant achievements of all our campaigns.

On the 26th of November, 1864, Gen. Hancock was detached from the army of the Potomac and ordered to Washington. As there were a large number of veteran soldiers in the country whose term, of service had expired, it was deemed important to raise a corps of veterans alone, fifty thousand strong. For this responsible work President Lincoln selected Hancock as the chief veteran of the

general officers of the army. He was commissioned to recruit it in the shortest possible time, and the old soldiers flocked to his standard.

IN COMMAND IN THE SHENANDOAH.

He was then ordered to the command of the Middle Military Division headquarters at Winchester, Va. This division embraced the departments of West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Washington, including the army of the Shenandoah, nearly one hundred thousand men of all arms. It was under orders to be ready to march at a few hours' notice to co-operate with Gen. Grant or Gen. Sherman, as the exigency should demand. By the surrender of Lee's lines before Petersburg this was never required.

THE ASSASSINATION AND MRS. SURRETT.

His headquarters were still in the valley of the Shenandoah in April, 1865, when the conspiracy against the President and his Cabinet was consummated. Lincoln was assassinated and Seward desperately wounded. The country was panic stricken by the deep laid plot to destroy the government by secret assassination. The Northern people were never so shaken and unnerved by the severest disasters in the field, as on that dreadful Friday, April 12th, 1865. A feeling of universal fear, distrust and poignant grief pervaded the nation. Hancock was at once summoned to Washington. When his presence at the capital was known, by telegraph, over the country, men said to each other, "Thank God, a man is in Washington now, who can be trusted in any emergency."

By order of President Johnson he remained till after the trial and execution of the conspirators. A military commission, ordered by the President, tried, found guilty and condemned some of the prisoners to death. It was to be lamented that one of the condemned was a woman. The execution was ordered for the 7th of July. When on that morning a writ of *habeas corpus* was procured for Mrs. Surratt, served on Gen. Hancock, as commander of the military division, and President Johnson suspended it, Gen. Hancock then gave every facility to Mrs. Surratt's daughter to obtain the President's reprieve, her only hope, and to make sure that his own action be on the side of mercy, placed mounted sentinels between the White House and the place of execution, that if the reprieve came at the last moment it should go swiftly and surely to the condemned.

HIS CIVIL SERVICE—THE CONDITION OF THE SOUTH AT THE TIME.

The war closed, the first object and duty of the government was to bring back the states which had seceded, to their normal relations to the general government. To do this wisely, free from mercenary and partisan motives, with magnanimity of the North toward the South, without in any sense compromising the principle for which the immense sacrifice of so many precious lives had been made, was the great problem. The more radical of the ablest statesmen of the North, favored the plan of bringing back these states as territories, but wiser counsels prevailed, and a method was devised, by which the states were to be brought back under certain prescribed conditions of loyalty, with their original constitutions and mechanism of government. To meet these conditions of reconstruction, the states were

divided into Military Districts, each to be governed by a military officer, upon whom was conferred full power to govern by the use of the military arm, or with power to give effect to the local laws and civil regulations of the state, as he, in his discretion might find it wise and prudent.

These were the historic facts and conditions under which Gen. Hancock assumed command of the Fifth Military District, Department of the Gulf, comprising Louisiana and Texas, on the 29th November, 1867.

He had the power to remove civil magistrates, to suppress local tribunals, to establish military commissions and to suspend the operation of the civil laws. Under the reconstruction law of Congress, he became the absolute ruler of these two states.

What, then, was the condition of the people, and what were the prejudices he was called to meet? The Confederate government had been overthrown. The military power of the South had been destroyed. He found, as was natural with this conquered people, much hostile feeling toward the government at Washington; still greater hostility toward many of these rulers, their representatives and agents, who had come in with their appointments and organizations to override or change the local tribunals in order to emphasize as the *first act* in reconstruction, the principles of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. However just these principles and certain to prevail in the end as an integral part of the Constitution, it was not wise or magnanimous to antagonize a people upon the sorest point, in the first act of restoring government. When to this was added much extravagance and speculation, increasing greatly the burdens of taxation, this hostility was often vented through reckless leaders and secret organizations. Could this bitter feeling, shown openly by some, and suppressed by others, ever be softened or changed by continuing a military government, unless these states were to be held as provinces under military law and the state governments and laws totally abjured.

He must govern by one power or the other. Gen. Hancock felt and clearly comprehended that to subordinate the military to the civil power, even under all these conditions of hostility, was the government most in accordance with the principles of the constitution, was right in principle and best calculated to soften, and in time to destroy this hostility.

ORDER 40.—ITS CHARACTER.

On that day, taking command of the Fifth Military District, he issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS, FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT, }
New Orleans, La., Nov. 29, 1867. }

General Order, No. 40.

I. In accordance with General Order No. 81, Washington, D. C., Major-General W. S. Hancock hereby assumes command of the fifth military district and of the department composed of the states of Louisiana and Texas.

II. The general commanding is gratified to learn that peace and quiet reign in this department. It will be his purpose to preserve this condition of things. As a means to this great end, he regards the maintenance of the civil authorities in the faithful execution of the laws as the most efficient under existing circumstances.

In war it is indispensable to repel force by force, and overthrow and destroy opposition to lawful authority, but when insurrectionary force has been overthrown and peace established and the civil authorities are ready and willing to perform their duties, the military power should cease to lead, and the civil administration resume its natural and

rightful dominion. Solemnly impressed with these views, the general announces that the great principles of American liberty are still the lawful inheritance of this people, and ever should be. The right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, the natural rights of persons and the rights of property must be preserved.

Free institutions, while they are essential to the prosperity and happiness of the people, always furnish the strongest inducements to peace and order. Crimes and offences committed in this district must be referred to the consideration and judgment of the regular civil tribunals, and those tribunals will be supported in their lawful jurisdiction.

Should there be violation of existing laws which are not inquired into by the civil magistrates, or should failures in the administration of justice by the courts be complained of, the cases will be reported to these headquarters, when such orders will be made as may be deemed necessary.

While the General thus indicates his purpose to respect the liberties of the people, he wishes all to understand that armed insurrection or forcible resistance to the law will be instantly suppressed by arms.

By command of

MAJOR-GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK.

There is remarkable clearness and ability in the order in which it sets forth the principles that are the inalienable inheritance of the people, and the course of action which would give them or deprive them of their full enjoyment.

ITS PARALLEL WITH ENGLISH AND OUR OWN CONSTITUTION.

It goes back to first principles, which were embodied in the Magna Charta, which the English barons wrung from King John in the meadow of Runnymede, in 1215, and which four hundred years later, the Parliament forced from Charles the First in 1628, called the Right of Petition. "These formed the strong foundations and steadfast bulwark of English liberty." *

The origin of our Democratic form of government grew out of the abuse of the supreme power in the hands of the Monarch. After a series of struggles by the people during our colonial period there came first the Declaration of Independence, then our Constitution, framed in 1787, which was modeled in part upon the principles embodied in the Magna Charta and Right of Petition. The British Constitution was the result of concessions made by the successive monarchs for centuries, which grew out of the slowly growing sense of personal rights, of justice and humanity in the hearts of the people, and the omnipotent pressure of public opinion upon kings and nobles.

But the British Constitution was never ratified as a whole by the people, while ours was formally ratified as a government for the people and by the people.

And what is constitutional law in our own free country, but the structure and mechanism of the government, and the appointment, duties and powers of its officers? This also includes the Constitution of the several states and the mechanism of their governments. If, therefore, the constitutions of the Southern states were not wholly abrogated by the reconstruction laws of Congress, which was not

* Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., in his eloquent Centennial oration before the city authorities of New York, July 4th, 1876, gave a graphic picture of the brilliant assemblage of nobles and barons in Runnymede when the Magna Charta was conceded by King John, and of the great gathering of still greater historic men in 1628, when the monarch conceded the Right of Petition, and forcibly contrasts and marks the parallel between these great historic assemblages with the men who gathered to adopt our Declaration of Independence, and afterwards to frame the Constitution in 1787.—A pamphlet, A. F. Randolph, New York.

intended, then Gen. Hancock's order was eminently sound and eminently wise, and the most politic and effective measure to soften hostility and bring back the old fraternal feeling for the Union of the states. It had its effect, and is now silently working in the minds and hearts of the people throughout the nation, to mark him as a leader among men, who, in the high office of President, will harmonize the antagonism of sections, and bring us as one people to love and respect all the guarantees of the Constitution.

His letter to Governor Pease, dated March 9, 1868, from which the following extracts are made, shows conclusively how clearly he understood and how strongly he grasped all the great principles of constitutional government. As a keen analysis of the situation, and a lucid discussion of the varied state and national questions which grew out of it, shows General Hancock to be, a man of great ability in civil affairs as well as military.

This was in reply to the solicitation of Governor Pease, to establish a military commission for the trial of criminals in that state. No citizen can read it without being impressed with the soundness of his principles, his firmness and independence of character, and the excellency of his judgment.

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., March 9, 1868.

To His Excellency E. M. PEASE, *Governor of Texas* :

Your statement that the act of Congress "to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel states," declares that whatever government existed in Texas was provisional; that peace and order should be enforced; that Texas should be part of the Fifth Military District, and subject to military power; that the President should appoint an officer to command in said district, and detail a force to protect the rights of person and property, suppress insurrection and violence, and punish offenders, either by military commission, or through the action of local civil tribunals, as in his judgment might seem best, will not be disputed. One need only read the act to perceive it contains such provisions. But how all this is supposed to have made it my duty to order the military commission requested, you have entirely failed to show. The power to do a thing if shown, and the propriety of doing it, are often very different matters. You observe you are at a loss to understand how a government, without representation in Congress, or a militia force, and subject to military power, can be said to be in the full exercise of all its proper powers. You do not reflect that this government, created or permitted by Congress, has all the powers which the act intends, and may fully exercise them accordingly. If you think it ought to have more powers, should be allowed to send members to Congress, wield a militia force, and possess yet other powers, your complaint is not to be preferred against me, but against Congress, who made it what it is.

As respects the issue between us, any question as to what Congress ought to have done has no pertinence. You admit the act of Congress authorizes me to try an offender by military commission, or allow the local civil tribunals to try, as I shall deem best; and you cannot deny the act expressly recognizes such local civil tribunals as legal authorities for the purpose specified. When you contend there are no legal local tribunals for any purpose in Texas, you must either deny the plain reading of the act of Congress or the power of Congress to pass the act.

You next remark that you dissent from my declaration, "that the country (Texas) is in a state of profound peace," and proceed to state the grounds of your dissent. They appear to me not a little extraordinary. I quote your words: "It is true there no longer exists here (Texas) any organized resistance to the authority of the United States." "But a large majority of the white population who participated in the late rebellion, are embittered against the Government, and yield to it an unwilling obedience." Nevertheless, you concede they do yield it obedience. You proceed:

"None of this class have any affection for the Government, and very few any respect for it. They regard the legislation of Congress on the subject of reconstruction as unconstitutional and hostile to their interests, and consider the government now existing here under authority of the United States as an usurpation on their rights. They look on the

emancipation of their late slaves and the disfranchisement of a portion of their own class as an act of insult and oppression."

And this is all you have to present for proof that war and not peace prevails in Texas; and hence it becomes my duty—so you suppose—to set aside the local civil tribunals, and enforce the penal code against citizens by means of military commissions.

My dear sir, I am not a lawyer, nor has it been my business, as it may have been yours, to study the philosophy of statecraft and politics. But I may lay claim, after an experience of more than half a lifetime, to some poor knowledge of men, and some appreciation of what is necessary to social order and happiness. And for the future of our common country, I could devoutly wish that no great number of our people have yet fallen in with the views you appear to entertain. Woe be to us whenever it shall come to pass that the power of the magistrate—civil or military—is permitted to deal with the mere opinions or feelings of the people.

I have been accustomed to believe that sentiments of respect or disrespect, and feelings of affection, love, or hatred, so long as not developed into acts in violation of law, were matters wholly beyond the punitive power of human tribunals.

When a boy I remember to have read a speech of Lord Chatham, delivered in Parliament. It was during our Revolutionary War, and related to the policy of employing the savages on the side of Britain. You may be more familiar with the speech than I am. If I am not greatly mistaken, his lordship denounced the British government—his government—in terms of unmeasured bitterness. He characterized its policy as revolting to every sentiment of humanity and religion; proclaimed it covered with disgrace, and vented his eternal abhorrence of it and its measures. It may, I think, be safely asserted that a majority of the British nation concurred in the views of Lord Chatham. But whoever supposed that profound peace was not existing in that kingdom, or that government had any authority to question the absolute right of the opposition to express their objections to the propriety of the king's measures in any words, or to any extent they pleased? It would be difficult to show that the opponents of the Government in the days of the elder Adams, or Jefferson, or Jackson, exhibited for it either "affection" or "respect." You are conversant with the history of our past parties and political struggles touching legislation on alienage, sedition, the embargo, national banks, our wars with England and Mexico, and cannot be ignorant of the fact that for one party to assert that a law or system of legislation is unconstitutional, oppressive, and usurpative, is not a new thing in the United States. That the people of Texas consider acts of Congress unconstitutional, oppressive, or insulting to them, is of no consequence to the matter in hand. The President of the United States has announced his opinion that these acts of Congress are unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, as you are aware, not long ago decided unanimously that a certain military commission was unconstitutional. Our people everywhere, in every state, without reference to the side they took during the rebellion, differ as to the constitutionality of these acts of Congress. How the matter really is, neither you nor I may dogmatically affirm.

If you deem them constitutional laws, and beneficial to the country, you not only have the right to publish your opinions, but it might be your bounden duty as a citizen to do so. Not less is it the privilege and duty of any and every citizen, wherever residing, to publish his opinion freely and fearlessly on this and every question which he thinks concerns his interest. This is merely in accordance with the principles of our free government; and neither you nor I would wish to live under any other. It is time now, at the end of almost two years from the close of the war, we should begin to recollect what manner of people we are; to tolerate again free, popular discussion, and extend some forbearance and consideration to opposing views. The maxims that in all intellectual contests truth is mighty, and must prevail, and that error is harmless when reason is left free to combat it, are not only sound, but salutary. It is a poor compliment to the merits of such a cause, that its advocates would silence opposition by force; and generally those only who are in the wrong will resort to this ungenerous means. I am confident you will not commit your serious judgment to the proposition that any amount of discussion, or any sort of opinions, however unwise in your judgment, or any assertion or feeling, however resentful or bitter, not resulting in a breach of law, can furnish justification for your denial that profound peace exists in Texas. You might as well deny that profound peace exists in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, California, Ohio and Kentucky, where a majority of the people differ with a minority on these questions; or that profound peace exists in the House of Representatives, or the Senate, at Washington, or in the Supreme Court, where all these questions have been repeatedly discussed, and parties respectfully and patiently heard. You next complain that in parts of the state (Texas) it is difficult to enforce the criminal laws; that sheriffs fail to arrest; that grand jurors will not always indict; that in some cases the military, acting in aid of the civil authorities, have not been able to execute the process of the courts; that petit jurors have acquitted persons adjudged guilty by you; and that other

persons charged with offenses have broke jail and fled from prosecution. I know not how these things are; but admitting your representations literally true, if for such reasons I should set aside the local civil tribunals and order a military commission, there is no place in the United States where it might not be done with equal propriety. There is not a state in the Union—North or South—where the like facts are not continually happening. Perfection is not to be predicted of man or his works. No one can reasonably expect certain and absolute justice in human transactions; and if military power is to be set in motion, on the principles for which you would seem to contend, I fear that a civil government, regulated by laws, could have no abiding place beneath the circuit of the sun. It is rather more than hinted in your letter, that there is no local State government in Texas, and no local laws outside of the acts of Congress, which I ought to respect; and that I should undertake to protect the rights of persons and property in *my own way* and in an *arbitrary manner*. If such be your meaning, I am compelled to differ with you. After the abolition of slavery (an event which I hope no one now regrets), the laws of Louisiana and Texas existing prior to the rebellion, and not in conflict with the acts of Congress, comprised a vast system of jurisprudence, both civil and criminal. It required not volumes only, but libraries to contain them. They laid down principles and precedents for ascertaining the rights and adjusting the controversies of men in every conceivable case. They were the creations of great and good and learned men, who had labored in their day for their kind, and gone down to the grave long before our recent troubles, leaving their works an inestimable legacy to the human race. These laws, as I am informed, connected the civilization of past and present ages, and testified of the justice, wisdom, humanity and patriotism of more than one nation, through whose records they descended to the present people of these States. I am satisfied, from representations of persons competent to judge, they are as perfect a system of laws as may be found elsewhere, and better suited than any other to the condition of this people, for by them they have long been governed. Why should it be supposed Congress has abolished these laws? Why should any one wish to abolish them? They have committed no treason, nor are hostile to the United States, nor countenance crime, nor favor injustice. On them, as on a foundation of rock, reposes almost the entire superstructure of social order in these two states. Annul this code of local laws, and there would be no longer any rights, either of person or property, here. Abolish the local civil tribunals made to execute them, and you would virtually annul the laws, except in reference to the very few cases cognizable in the federal courts. Let us, for a moment, suppose the whole local civil code annulled, and that I am left, as commander of the Fifth Military District, the sole fountain of law and justice. This is the position in which you would place me.

I am now to protect all rights and redress all wrongs. How is it possible for me to do it? Innumerable questions arise, of which I am not only ignorant, but to the solution of which a military court is entirely unfitted. One would establish a will, another a deed; or the question is one of succession, or partnership, or descent, or trust, a suit of ejectment or claim to chattels; or the application may relate to robbery, theft, arson or murder. How am I to take the first step in any such matter? If I turn to the acts of Congress I find nothing on the subject. I dare not open the authors on the local code, for it has ceased to exist.

And you tell me that in this perplexing condition I am to furnish, by dint of my own hasty and crude judgment, the legislation demanded by the vast and manifold interests of the people! I repeat, sir, that you, and not Congress, are responsible for the monstrous suggestion that there are no local laws or institutions here to be respected by me, outside the acts of Congress. I say unhesitatingly, if it were possible that Congress should pass an act abolishing the local codes for Louisiana and Texas—which I do not believe—and it should fall to my lot to supply their place with something of my own, I do not see how I could do better than follow the laws in force here prior to the rebellion, excepting whatever therein shall relate to slavery. Power may destroy the forms, but not the principles of justice; these will live in spite even of the sword. History tells us that the Roman pandects were lost for a long period among the rubbish that war and revolution had heaped upon them, but at length were dug out of the ruins—again to be regarded as a precious treasure.

You are pleased to state that "since the publication of (my) general orders No. 40 there has been a perceptible increase of crime and manifestations of hostile feeling toward the Government and its supporters," and add that it is "an unpleasant duty to give such a recital of the condition of the country."

You will permit me to say that I deem it impossible the first of these statements can be true, and that I do very greatly doubt the correctness of the second. * * *

But what was order No. 40, and how could it have the effect you attribute to it? It sets forth that "the great principles of American liberty are still the inheritance of this people and ever should be, that the right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, and the natural rights of persons and property must

be preserved." Will you question the truth of these declarations? Which one of these great principles of liberty are you ready to deny and repudiate? Whoever does so avows himself the enemy of human liberty and the advocate of despotism. Was there any intimation in general order No. 40 that any crimes or breaches of law would be countenanced? You know that there was not. On the contrary, you know perfectly well that while "the consideration of crime and offences committed in the Fifth Military District was referred to the judgment of the regular civil tribunals," a pledge was given in order No. 40, which all understood, that tribunals would be supported in their lawful jurisdiction, and that "forceable resistance to law would be instantly suppressed by arms." You will not affirm that this pledge has ever been forfeited. There has not been a moment since I have been in command of the Fifth District, when the whole military force in my hands has not been ready to support the civil authorities of Texas in the execution of the laws. And I am unwilling to believe they would refuse to call for aid if they needed it.

There are some considerations which, it seems to me, should cause you to hesitate before indulging in wholesale censures against the civil authorities of Texas. You are yourself the chief of these authorities, not elected by the people, but created by the military. Not long after you had thus come into office, all the judges of the Supreme Court of Texas—five in number—were removed from office, and new appointments made; twelve of the seventeen district judges were removed, and others appointed. County officers, more or less, in seventy-five out of one hundred and twenty-eight counties, were removed, and others appointed in their places. It is fair to conclude that the executive and judicial civil functionaries in Texas are the persons whom you desired to fill the offices. It is proper to mention, also, that none but registered citizens, and only those who could take the test oath, have been allowed to serve as jurors during your administration. Now, it is against this local government, created by military power prior to my coming here, and so composed of your personal and political friends, that you have preferred the most grievous complaints. It is of them that you have asserted they will not do their duty; they will not maintain justice; will not arrest offenders; will not punish crimes; and that out of one hundred homicides committed in the last twelve months, not over ten arrests have been made; and by means of such gross disregard of duty, you declared that neither property nor life is safe in Texas.

Certainly you could have said nothing more to the discredit of the officials who are now in office.

That there has not been a perfect administration of justice in Texas I am not prepared to deny.

That there has been no such wanton disregard of duty on the part of officials as you allege, I am well satisfied. * * * * *

I have found little else in your letter but indications of temper, lashed into excitement by causes which I deem mostly imaginary, a great confidence in the accuracy of your own opinions, and an intolerance of the opinions of others, a desire to punish the thoughts and feelings of those who differ from you, and an impatience which magnifies the shortcomings of officials who are perhaps as earnest and conscientious in the discharge of their duties as yourself, and a most unsound conclusion that while any persons are to be found wanting in affection or respect for government, or yielding it obedience from motives which you do not approve, war and not peace is the status, and all such persons are the proper subjects for military and penal jurisdiction.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HANCOCK,
Major-General Commanding.

HANCOCK ON THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION IN 1876.

Gen. Hancock, while at Carondolet, Mo., late in the autumn of 1876, after the election and during the excitement before the appointment of the Electoral Commission, in a private letter to Gen. Sherman, which he had no thought would ever appear in print, very freely gave his views upon the relations of the army (or military force) to the Presidential question. Since his nomination, a false representation of this letter having been set afloat to his injury, the text of it has been published. It does him great honor and credit for its simplicity, directness, and cogency of statement of the whole question.

The points in that letter which show his easy grasp of the method of determining the Presidential election as provided by the Constitution, and of many of the great principles coming within the scope of the duties of the President, are admirably given by Senator Bayard, of Delaware. Coming from a statesman of such eminence, known probity, ability and impartiality, his opinion forms the fairest and strongest commentary upon Gen. Hancock's eminent fitness for the high office of President.

BAYARD'S TESTIMONY.

This letter, says Mr. Bayard, exhibits Hancock, the patriot and soldier, writing out his unpremeditated views upon a grave political crisis. The letter was called out by repeated letters from his military superior. He did not originate the correspondence, as the opening sentences show. To appreciate its full force and meaning you must have seen and known as I did what was then going on in Washington and at the War Department. Troops, even then, under Cameron's inspiration and with President Grant's approval, were being moved towards Washington. The army had overthrown already the Louisiana election. Florida and South Carolina had suffered the same fate, and the work only remained to be consummated at Washington in February by a repetition on a national scale of the frauds committed in New Orleans and elsewhere in November.

This letter will dispose forever of the pretense that he is a mere soldier, a man with no ideas concerning politics and civil government. He has as distinct views concerning public affairs as any man I know, and he gives expression to some of them in this very letter with a simplicity and directness that make his presentation of his views as strong as any made by any man on these subjects before Congress or the Electoral Commission during the pendency of the electoral dispute.

Having given the constitutional questions connected with the election of President and Vice-President and the control of the two houses of Congress over the election much thought and study, I must freely confess that General Hancock has emphasized in his letter the true meaning of the Constitution in such a way and with such force as to give me new and stronger light upon the subject. He presents with great clearness the idea of the separate deposits of power in the House of Representatives and in the Senate in the case of the inability of the two houses in joint session to unite in a declaration that a majority of the electoral votes have been delivered for any candidate. In that case the duty of choosing a President immediately devolves on the House of Representatives, voting by states, while the duty of choosing a Vice-President devolves on the Senate. This line of separate action is continued in analogy by the separate power given the Senate alone to elect as President its own presiding officer in the event of the death of the President and Vice-President. In that election the House of Representatives has no voice.

Mr. Bayard said his visit to General Hancock, though he had often met the General before, his recent conversation had impressed him more strongly than ever with his knowledge and correct judgment of public affairs. "Anybody," he said, "who imagines that Hancock will depend on some one else for his ideas of civil administration will have to surrender that opinion on reading this admirable letter, written out in Missouri, where he had not even the aid of a clerk. "Furthermore, General Hancock has in this letter presented the great issue raised by the fraud of 1876, to the American people, with the force which really belongs to it and divested of all that may have tended to weaken or obscure it. It is an issue we should never lose sight of. For our country cannot with safety endure a repetition of such grave wrongs as were successfully perpetrated in 1877. General Hancock's letter is in the highest sense a state paper, though not intended to be one. It is devoid of the formalities which attach to official communications, but it deals with a most difficult problem of constitutional powers with wonderful clearness and force. The man who shall hereafter deny to Hancock the meed of having ably dealt, and in a high spirit of patriotic statesmanship, with the most serious and difficult crisis in our recent history, will stultify himself."

HIS FITNESS—PARALLEL WITH JOHN HANCOCK.

Looking back over his life—the studious habits of his youth; his filial reverence for a noble father and a devout and watchful mother; his conscientious application to study; his efficiency in the discharge of his early military duties; his disregard of self, and the clear, quick, bold action of his mind, and his grand courage in the extreme peril of battle; his strong grasp of great principles, and dominant sense of justice when called into the civil service; the patriotic ardor, which seems born in him, and which has so strikingly shone out in all his career; his quick discernment of character, and his magnetic power to inspire and control masses of men and not least, his cool judgment and sound common sense; these qualities prove General Hancock to be more highly qualified than almost any other among his peers to lead back the civil administration of the government to the purity and honesty of its founders. These are not words of fulsome praise. They only characterize truthfully, the qualities of the man and the deeds of his life.

There is a striking similarity in many of the elements of character in John Hancock, the patriot of 1776, and the soldier Hancock of 1880. There is also a beautiful parallel, when closely examined, in their self-consecration to the country in its hour of need.

John Hancock's father and grandfather were devout ministers of the Gospel, who were near the people, and entered into their feelings of resistance to oppression. His father died, and left him in infancy to be reared by an affectionate paternal uncle—a Boston merchant, who educated him at Harvard and trained him afterwards in his counting-room. From thence he sent him on a business mission to England, where he saw the people and the Parliament, and witnessed the funeral of George II, and the coronation of George III. This uncle died, leaving him a princely fortune at the age of twenty six. He had imbibed the spirit of liberty from infancy, and now relinquished all commercial pursuits to devote himself to the interests of the nation, which he did from this time onward to the end of his life in 1793. This consecration was in 1761, only four years before Parliament enacted the odious Stamp Act. It received the signature of the king, March 27, 1765. This act contained fifty-five sections, and imposed stamp duties upon as many classes of legal and business documents, and certificates of institutions of learning, from three pence (six cents) up to three pounds (fifteen dollars) each. As a retaliation, Hancock first proposed non-importation, and was bold and active in the scenes connected with the Boston Massacre and the Tea Riot. He was first a member of the Provincial Assembly, then of its Executive Council, then President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, then member of the Continental Congress in 1774, and its President in 1775 and 1776. For nearly ten years he boldly resisted these oppressive acts of taxation without representation, till the sentiment of resistance burst into a flame of revolution.

As President of the Congress, on the morning of July 4, 1776, he gave his bold signature, to the Declaration of Independence, the only signature on that day, and with his name alone it went forth to the world. It was engrossed upon the Journal of Congress, and on the 2d of August signed by all the fifty-six, but one.

Not less boldly, and with not less of patriotic ardor, did Winfield Scott Han-

cock, when treason and war were proclaimed against the Union, again and again peril his life to save it. There is a significant parallel between the temperament, the decisive action, purity of motive and patriotic spirit of the two men. The one wrought so grandly in founding the Union and freedom of the states; the other fought so bravely and effectively to preserve that Union when it was periled, upon the gage of battle. The patriot died in his fifty-fifth year, devoting twenty-nine years to the cause of liberty, while the subject of this sketch has already given thirty-six years of service to his country.

Hancock's letter of acceptance is a document of singular ability and strength. No letter of its class, since the election of Andrew Jackson, has surpassed or equalled it in pure, terse style; in force of reasoning, and lofty patriotism. Leaving all minor and partisan issues, it deals in trenchant words, with logical acumen, directly with the principles of constitutional government, and the practical methods of securing all its inestimable benefits to the whole people, irrespective of race or condition. It rises, as did the founders of the government a hundred years ago, in all the essentials of honest administration and pure civil service above the mercenary conditions of mere party supremacy, to a government for the people and by the people as the true source of political power.

GREAT MEN DEVELOPED BY WARS.

His Order 40, on assuming the post of military governor of Louisiana and Texas, and his letter of acceptance, absolutely refute the allegation that he is only a military officer in education and experience.

In long periods of peace, men, great in the professions, in commerce, and trade, or in civil affairs, are brought to the front. So in periods of war, and especially in great foreign wars, or in a great contest like that waged to divide or destroy the Union, great minds are developed by military exigencies and brought into prominence, whose early training and later experience fit them to be eminent statesmen as well as great soldiers. This was pre-eminently so with Washington and Jackson. As in war, so in peace, the elements of greatness were developed by the great events which they were called, in the order of an overruling Providence, to shape and control.

In Hancock, the key-note of his rising strength and his magnetic power over men in military service, was struck at Williamsburg and culminated at Gettysburg, in the most brilliant and memorable service of the war, in his endurance, his grand courage, his self-abnegation and his trust in Providence, as with masterly tactics and wonderful endurance he stood for three terrible days—he and the army he inspired—against an onset of the rebel force as great in skill, as sublime in courage, as was ever met in the war. He came out desperately wounded but with lasting victory for the Union and the country.

GREAT ADVANCE OF THE COUNTRY—NEW DEMANDS UPON THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

We have just entered upon a new century and epoch in the history of the government. The vast expanse of territory now embraced in the thirty-two states of the Union and the territories was, much of it, fifty years ago, a wilderness

with sparse population. Communication was slow and infrequent. The telegraph, railroad, and trans-Atlantic cable have wrought changes which the most fertile imagination could never have foreseen. New inventions, the rapid multiplication of labor-saving machines, the vast increase of our manufacturing and agricultural industries, and the discovery of untold mineral wealth have increased production, and the demand for transportation of persons, material, and products, to colossal proportions. These great changes, and an immense foreign immigration, coming to occupy and cultivate the soil, and the necessity of a tenfold monetary circulation have entirely changed the requirements of the legislative power both in the states and national government. Added to this, the increase of the patronage of the government to 100,000 office-holders, and the desire to continue in power, and all these new conditions of the country will be found to have multiplied tenfold the opportunities for mercenary greed alike in office, in trade, and in commerce.

It is therefore of gravest importance to the country, to elect to the office of President in this crisis, a man of the honesty, firmness, ability, and wisdom of General Hancock, who, with moderation and prudence, will strive in his administration to harmonize all the conflicting interests of the nation, who will never consent to be President solely of a party, but of the whole body of the people, and will seek to unite us again in fraternal regard as we are one in wealth and power.

HANCOCK'S METHOD AND PROMPTNESS IN BUSINESS—HIS HOME LIFE—PERSONAL BEARING.

General Hancock is a man of great promptness and method in business. He has a remarkable capacity for dispatch. Whatever demands attention is not deferred but done on the day. The work of each day and week is completed, if possible, not put over. Whether it be correspondence, or the routine of the day, it is done with the greatest expedition.

He has a most forgiving disposition, great patience, and great persistence in whatever he undertakes. These qualities of patience, persistence, promptness, and dispatch are sought in those who come under his command.

General Hancock's household is a type of the cultivated, refined, and happy American home. While resident in St. Louis, he married Miss Almira Russell, the accomplished daughter of Samuel Russell, a prominent merchant of that city. He has had two children, a son and a daughter;—Russell Hancock and Ada Elizabeth Hancock, a very beautiful and cultivated young lady, who died in March, 1875, at the age of eighteen, to whom the General was greatly attached, and whose memory is most tenderly cherished. His son, Russell Hancock (the eldest), is married and has three children. In this attractive circle of wife, children, and grandchildren, he finds his best hours when the cares of the day are ended. In his family he is devoted, kind, and generous, delighting in the society of family and friends. The social hour is made bright by his full mind, and his genial intelligent way of entertaining. He is the life of this circle.

General Hancock is about six feet in height, of fine proportions, an erect figure, a bearing of quiet dignity and modesty, and an easy gracefulness of manner pleas-

ing to all classes. He is always thoroughly self-possessed, has a quick insight into character, and a calm decision, which would give him great tact and strength in meeting without offense the pressure of constant claims which are always made upon the presidential office.

THE RELATION OF THE STATES TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.—HANCOCK'S
FITNESS TO PRESERVE IT.

Amid the fierce partisan conflicts of the day, the writing and speaking for effect, without due regard to the plainest truths of history, whoever calmly surveys the condition of the country in its robust and rapid advancement to wealth and power, cannot fail to have seen with anxiety, in these later years, the swelling tide of corruption—in various forms of combination to deplete the treasury—in subsidies and special legislation, the results of which tend constantly to the centralization of power in the national government. It is important, therefore, to put into the presidential office a man who has given special evidence of his aptitude for the study, and of his knowledge of constitutional law, as General Hancock has in his brief government of Louisiana and Texas. He gave there undoubted evidence that he clearly understood the relations of the national to the state governments, and if ever brought into the position to impose the veto upon unwise legislation, he would do it with sound discrimination of the limitations of the constitution to the legislative power; and his administrative acts would also firmly respect the rights of the states in the undisturbed regulation of their own internal affairs.

As we expand in organized states and population, that just balance of power between the national and state governments which our forefathers so earnestly sought to give in the constitution, is one of the most important guarantees of the safety of the Union. Hancock, in his civil service, displayed not only a thorough knowledge of this constitution, decision and firmness of will, but a conservative, strong common sense, which affords always an absolute guaranty against rash or extreme action.

THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION HELD INVIOABLE BY HANCOCK.

The strong partisan opposition to Gen. Hancock will give way when it is seen, in the light of sober facts, how utterly groundless are the allegations that, if elected, he will be the president of a dominant party, and not of the whole people; that "a solid South" will rule, and claim the payment of its own debt, incurred by its acts of rebellion.

To these and other groundless assertions it is only necessary to interpose the simple history. The magnanimity and practical decision of the closing words of Hancock's speech at Los Angeles in 1861 have been emphasized by every act of his subsequent career. "We will welcome you back, he said, as brothers; we will help you to redress your wrongs; but the priceless inheritance of the Union we will defend to the last extremity."

The XIVth amendment to the constitution, one of the results of the war, was declared ratified by thirty of the states of the Union on the 28th of July, 1868. Among the states ratifying it were North and South Carolina, Arkansas, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and Virginia. The fourth section of this amendment reads as follows :

"Sec. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for the payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing the rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claims for the loss or emancipation of any slave, but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void."

Gen. Hancock, in the opening words of his letter of acceptance of the nomination, says :

"The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution of the United States embodying the results of the war for the Union are inviolable. If called to the presidency, I should deem it my duty to resist with all my power any attempt to impair or evade the full force and effect of the constitution, which in every article, section and amendment is the supreme law of the land."

No words can add to the frankness and force of this pledge. To deny its efficacy is to question the truth of the historic facts here quoted, and is unjust to the people of these states, south and north, which have ratified this amendment.

HANCOCK WILL HARMONIZE, NOT ANTAGONIZE.

The rebellion against the Union has been conquered at the cost of an immense sacrifice of precious life of both the north and the south. Slavery, the chief occasion of this war, has passed forever away. It can never be restored. The moral sentiment of the world is omnipotent against it, and the south, accord with the issue, and would not restore it if they could. The guarantees of an amended constitution are founded in the sentiment of the rights of the colored race, and that the expense incurred in the attempt to sever the Union must be a total loss to those who took up arms against it. The majority of these states have ratified these amendments and accepted their terrible loss, and the irretrievable suffering of an impoverished land.

They behold a new life and new power in the increase of capital and immigration, and in the revival, beyond all former times, of rapidly growing agricultural and manufacturing industries.

The great west is outstripping the south, the north and the east in its colossal growth, and it is idle to say longer a solid south can and will rule. It is a tale of partisan fiction, which common sense and historic facts destroy.

Is it wise or just, then, to longer antagonize the south in the process of reconstruction, or forever to doubt the sincerity of their acceptance of the guarantees of the Constitution, and, however hard and grievous to their feelings, the results of the war?

If then we hope for and really desire to go back to that union and fraternal

feeling which the common privations of the Colonial period, and the common struggles and sufferings of the Revolution brought us in 1776, we have in General Hancock a man whose dispassionate temperament and elements of character especially qualify him for this great service. Every independent voter and every voter who desires the best man for the country may safely cast his ballot for Hancock.

By a social life of stainless purity, by a military record of the highest and most brilliant order, he has passed into a niche of fame in the science of war, which history will ever hold secure, and if elected President he will as faithfully and magnanimously administer under the broad ægis of the Constitution the government for all sections of the country and for the good of all the people.

After the lapse of the first and the auspicious opening of the second century of our existence, as a Union of free people, how stand we to day as a nation, under our advancement in greatness and power, in the clear, distinct acceptance of those principles which lie at the foundation of republican government, and in our relations and obligations to the cause of freedom throughout the world? We have advanced from the small territory of thirteen original states on the first census in 1790 of less than 800,000 square miles inhabited by about three millions of people, to a vast peopled area of nearly 3,000,000 of square miles embracing thirty eight states and eight territories and, by the tenth census in progress, with fifty millions of inhabitants. In this colossal growth, while the constant tide of immigration from all nations of the old world has come in to share our blessings, and to enrich us by their toil, we have preserved, and shall ever preserve in our government and society the distinctive characteristics of the American people.

These were interwoven with, and indelibly stamped in form and spirit upon the very texture of the government, and will be transmitted, let us hope, through all time by maintaining that beneficent balance of power, between the States and the General government, which the great minds of its founders exhausted their best and richest thought to give. Among the foremost of these were Washington, Jefferson, Sherman, Franklin, Hamilton, Livingston, Madison, Morris, Carroll, Rutledge, Mifflin and the Pinckneys.

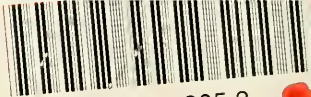
The importance and value of that just balance has been again and again elucidated and confirmed by the Websters, the Clays, the Wrights, and others of later time, to the generation which has arisen and now administer it.

It was this pivotal power which General Hancock sought to uphold and enforce in his administration at New Orleans in 1867 and 1868. In the spirit of these founders, if elected, he will begin, we believe, a new evangelism of harmony and peace.

The moral sentiment is the basis of all true greatness. The moral and virtuous sentiments of the American people, and the idea of personal consecration and self sacrifice in a great cause, as Hancock gave himself to the cause of the Union, are stronger and more inspiring sentiments here, than in any other people of the civilized nations.

This moral sentiment, and justice and magnanimity toward all sections, would control the administration of Hancock and mark a new era in the history of our country.





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